628 guests, it appears that they were friendly but rather formal. As
574 will be shown later, all arrangements in connection with Ilimo
731 camp were made between the government and the Ilimo people; the
Orokaiva had no form of organisation, in 1951, through which the
[659] refugees could have negotiated directly with Ilimo. The hosts generously supplied food, grew extra food in special plots, provided abundant building material from their land, and a site for the camp and helped with the preparation of the camp while the evacuees still lived at Wairope, in return for which the government made various gifts which Ilimo evidently regarded as adequate payment. At no point, during the existence of the camp, did the refugees develop an organisation which dealt directly with the Ilimo people. Thus, the only contact between hosts and guests was on a social level.

The camp was built at some little distance from the village. Refugees who had friends and relations in Ilimo used to go over to the village and visit them. There was for instance, at the time of the eruption, one Sivepa man resident at Ilimo; thus some Sivepa people paid visits to the village. There was an Easter celebration at the camp to which the village people came. When the camp broke up, the government gave a feast to the Ilimo people, on behalf of the evacuees, in the usual Orokaiva style.

121 If we wish to answer the question to what extent contact between different "tribal" groups (or distant groups) of Orokaiva has become more intensive since the eruption, we cannot confine ourselves to contacts occurring in villages such as Sivepa or
[178] Ilimo. Here the pattern suggested in the previous pages has hardly changed. The changes have occurred by the development of new organisations (to which I shall refer later) through labour migration and through urban development.

464 As I am at present discussing only unorganised contacts
166 between villagers, I can give only one clear instance of changing attitudes and this is in Popondetta itself. Popondetta, the new
● 633 administrative centre of the Northern District, has about 4,000
[162] inhabitants, almost all Orokaiva; among its inhabitants all parts of the Northern District are represented, including Sivepa. The Sivepa people had many relatives there, mostly hailing from the Sasembata district, and employed in some regular job in the town. These jobs are partly in personal service to Europeans, but also in light industry, the retail trade, public works and public service, and go far beyond the little employment that was available in pre-eruption Higaturu (with a population which, judging from aerial photographs, can hardly have exceeded that of a large village).
484 Popondetta is preeminently the place where intelligent men from
521 various villages can gather informally to discuss political and other
633 public questions, and develop a wider interpretation of the situation of the Orokaiva which is learnt by the men from the villages when they pay occasional visits to Popondetta. The town generates a new

484 sophistication which is spreading to the villages. This was not
521 yet very evident in Sivepe, though I shall later quote a few
examples, but far more so in Hohorita.

633 All the Orokaiva, including the people of Sivepe, liked to make occasional visits to Popondetta, even though they had little business there. They saw relatives and exchanged news with people they met around town, especially outside the Steamship Co. shop. News filtered down about the mission, the administration, the coffee factory and various current ideologies were communicated. The Inonda men visited more frequently than the Sivepe men; the women visited less frequently than the men.

609 I had little chance to observe relationships between Orokaiva
619 and Papuans and New Guineans from outside the Northern District, except when these served in some official or mission capacity. The only exception was the workers on European-owned plantations. I observed one incident at Hohorita which seemed to me highly significant. The Sangara plantation, which is very close to Hohorita, employs many Chimbu; bad feeling between plantation workers and villagers had been built up over some time, without any specific major issue of conflict. This culminated in a fight on a major scale. The Hohorita councillor went over to the plantation to make peace; the discussion ended with an invitation to the Chimbu to come to a feast at Hohorita. This feast was a success and was followed by a return feast at the plantation. Thus the Chimbu were placed on the same footing as other groups, at one time hostile, with whom feasting relations had been established, e.g., Sivepe and Togahou. Hohorita people whom I interviewed explained to me that when they quarreled with the Chimbu, they did not really know them, but they were friends now.

Section 6: Contact With Indigenous Office-Bearers

731 Among the victims of the eruption were 143 Papuan administration servants as well as 27 Papuan constabulary, who died at Higaturu along with the 46 European civil servants stationed there. The Mission was somewhat fortunate that Martyrs' School at Sangara was still closed for the holidays; the pupils and some of the staff had not yet returned. Even so only 11 Papuan mission teachers survived, including the present Bishop of the Northern District Diocese, George Amob, the priest at Sasembata, Fr. Albert McLaren, and the now retired mission teacher at Seva, later at Inonda, Moses Kuamale.

657 At the time of the eruption, a certain number of new roles
177 had already become firmly established among Papuans: member of the
647 Royal Papuan Constabulary, Village Constable, Mission Teacher, Medical Orderly, Clerk, Labourer. Post-war government policy aimed at greatly increasing the number and scope of these roles, both by